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**SMÄRRE MEDDELANDEN**

**N:r 8**

**DID PREHISTORIC EGYPTIAN  
CULTURE SPRING FROM A  
MARSH-DWELLING PEOPLE?**

**BY**

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## DID PREHISTORIC EGYPTIAN CULTURE SPRING FROM A MARSH-DWELLING PEOPLE?

**D**uring the last few years extensive and exceedingly interesting archaeological excavations have, as we know, been carried out in the immediate surroundings of the great step pyramid at Sakkara (Saqqara). These excavations and researches were made on behalf of the Egyptian Government by the prominent English archaeologist, Mr. Cecil M. Firth, who, inter alia, in "*Annales du service des antiquités de l'Égypte*" has given accounts of the highly interesting results of his investigations.<sup>1</sup>

Through the kind offices of the Swedish Minister at Cairo, M. Harald de Bildt, who possesses wide-spread — and, for our country, exceedingly valuable — personal connections in Egypt, my wife and I were accorded the privilege in the spring of 1928 of a visit to the excavations, under the guidance of Mr. Firth. On that occasion Mr. Firth was amiable enough to demonstrate in detail both the plan of the excavations and the most important of the archaeological discoveries of a fixed nature hitherto made. Among the latter there are some that, however strange it may sound, have a certain connection with my own researches among the Batwa, the marsh-dwelling people on the shores of Lake Bangweolo, as I shall briefly show in the following pages.

In the immediate vicinity of the step pyramid the most notable building work above ground consists of King Zoser's great colonnaded fore-court. This building, which was excavated a few years ago, is composed of a colonnade running east to west and numbering 40 three-quarter columns set in pairs, all connected by means of masonry with the lateral walls in the way shown by the plan (Fig. 1). This gave admission to

<sup>1</sup> *Cecil M. Firth*, *Excavations of the department of antiquities at the Step Pyramid, Saqqara (1924—1925)*. Extrait des *Annales du service des antiquités de l'Égypte*. T. XXV.

— Preliminary report on the excavations at Saqqara (1925—1926). Extrait etc. T. XXVI.

— Excavations of the Service des antiquités at Saqqara (November 1926—April 1927). Extrait etc. T. XXVII.

a smaller hall (Fig. 2) supported by eight three-quarter columns, joined by masonry, whence a doorway leads to the spacious "temenos", i. e., the sacred, enclosed piece of ground surrounding the pyramid. To this sacred area the colonnaded hall thus formed a magnificent fore-court.

Here, however, I find occasion to interrupt my description of this grandiose edifice, which is close upon 5.000 years old, and make such an apparently irrelevant digression as to the Batwa of Bangweolo. Thus

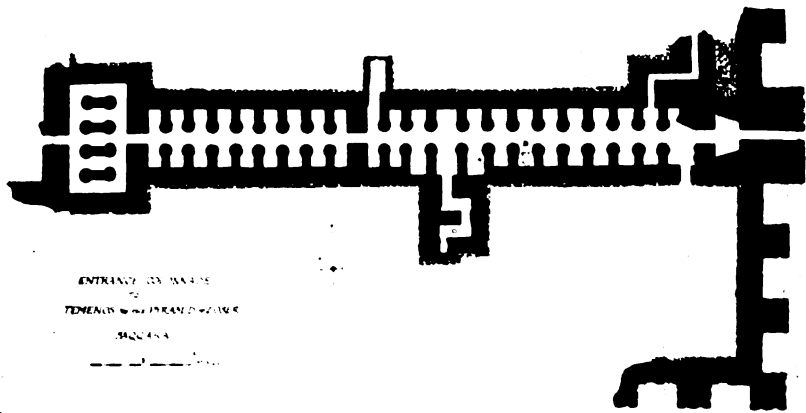


Fig. 1. Plan of Zoser's great colonnade at Sakkara. (From Cecil M. Firth, "Preliminary report on the excavations at Sakkara" (1925—1926). Extrait des annales du service des antiquités de l'Egypte, T. XXVI).

I take the liberty of quoting a passage from Chapter VII of my book "Träskfolket", where, in connection with a description of the Bangweolo swamp area, I wrote:

"In one and the same lagoon it is possible to see white, pink, scarlet, violet and lilac water lilies raising their calices above the gleaming sheet of water. When in addition the background consists of papyrus with fully blown, feathery tufts, or only half-opened, highly conventionalized umbels, then there presents itself not only a picture of wonderful charm but also a botanical constellation of the first order,

and one connected with the history of human culture. For both these plants, the water lily and the papyrus, have played a very important part in the earliest development phases of the world's civilization, and instilled into the ancient Egyptians, as we know, a sense of beauty so deep and enduring that its traces have prevailed through thousands of years, and are to this day still to be read on almost every temple ruin between Abu Simbel and Alexandria.

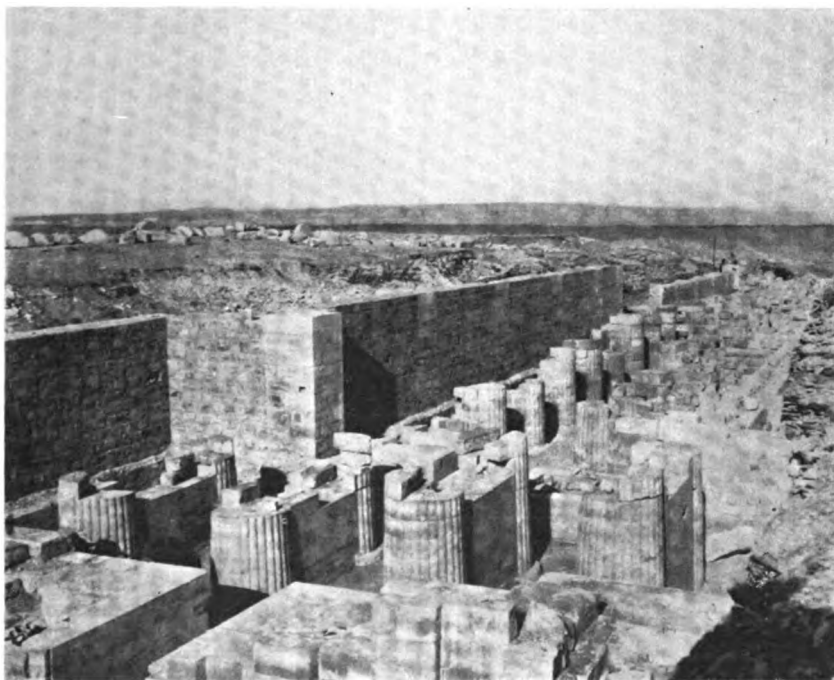


Fig. 2. Remains of Zoser's colonnade at Sakkara. In the foreground is seen the western part of the smaller colonnaded fore-court, from which a doorway gave entrance into the great "temenos" of the step pyramid. (Author's phot.).

It is, however, very probable that, in *primordial* Egyptian culture, these plants were, to begin with, principally valued from a merely *utilitarian* point of view and, like our northern "bearing trees", have only at some later period acquired a secondary importance as beautiful and sacred plants. In Egypt too, the papyrus naturally provided an excellent material

<sup>1</sup>Eric von Rosen, Träskfolket. Svenska Rhodesia-Kongo-Expeditionens etnografiska forskningsresultat. Stockholm 1916. P. 222 and 223.

for huts, mats, baskets, canoe poles, etc., and the root-stocks and seeds of the water lilies may also in that region be presumed to have been of considerable importance in the domestic economy before the earliest cultivation of the country."

When I wrote the above, i. e., in the summer of 1916, I searched in vain, however, the Egyptological literature for proofs of the architecture, prevalent in earliest Egypt, embodying any single instance of its being modelled upon *actual building-constructions of papyrus*; I could only find examples pointed out of stone buildings reflecting earlier architectural types in wood or clay. As regards the lotus columns of the Egyptian temples, it is self-evident that on account of the lack of rigidity in the water-lily stems, these stems, when represented on the shafts of the columns, as well as the calices and leaves sculptured on the capitals, can only be supposed to have come into being for purely decorative reasons. Prior to the discovery of Zoser's colonnaded temple court it was, accordingly, considered by Egyptologists that the representations of papyrus stems seen on the papyrus columns known up to that time could not be explained from a constructional, but only from a *decorative*, point of view.

When on my visit at Sakkara I had begun a close examination of the columns in Zoser's colonnade just referred to, I soon arrived at the conclusion that these columns (Fig. 3), which are of a type unknown prior to the excavation, in all probability constituted representations in stone of real papyrus pillars, i. e., pillars formed by tying a number of stout papyrus stalks into a bundle. In this connection I may mention that Dr. Sixten Strömbom, in his book, "Egyptens konst", suggest that the shape of the columns of Zoser's fore-court has originated by imitations in stone having been made of columns of more fragile material, *possibly wood and clay*, reinforced by an outer covering of papyrus stems.<sup>1</sup>

The stone columns in question are not provided with broad flutings like the proto-Doric ones, nor basally decorated with ornaments representing leaves, like later, so-called, papyrus columns, but are given a vertical, lengthwise ridge down the shaft, similar to the stem of a tall-grown papyrus plant. The section of the papyrus stem is, as we know, triangular, with slightly convex sides. When I mentioned this to Mr.

<sup>1</sup> *Sixten Strömbom*, Egyptens konst. Bonniers allmänna konsthistoria under redaktion av Axel L. Romdahl. Stockholm 1928. P. 43 and 44.

Firth, he told me that he himself had long before drawn the inference that these columns constituted representations of once existing, real pillars composed of papyrus stems tied into bundles, and that we were very soon to see additional proofs that papyrus or bulrushes in earliest



Fig. 3. Remains of pillars of Zoser's colonnade at Sakkrara. (Author's phot.).

Egyptian architectural art, filled, not only a decorative, but also a *purely constructional purpose*.

We then went quite a short distance to a shaft, inside which a stairway hewn out of the rock led down to a horizontal passage, by way of which we came to some underground chambers, two of which were especially remarkable from several points of view. What in these subterranean chambers mostly attracted my interest was a peculiar wall-

covering of blue-glazed tiles which, beyond the shadow of a doubt, represented a kind of wattle-work of rushes, in technique more or less identical with the hut-doors of the Bangweolo swamp dwellers. This likeness will be most clearly evident from a comparison between the

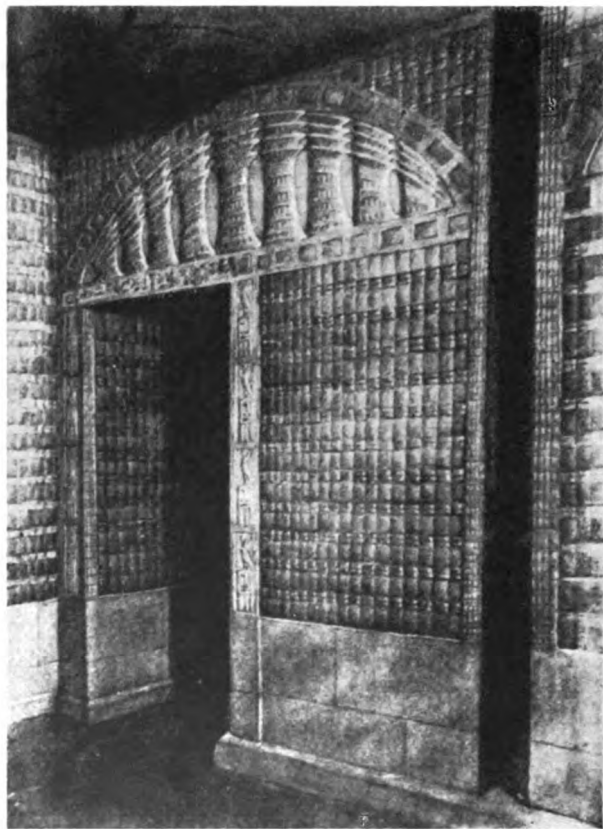


Fig. 4. Underground chamber from the III:rd dynasty, Sakkara. Note the wall-covering of blue-glazed tiles and the Ded-columns in the same material in the circle segment above the doorway. Illustration from "Excavations of the Service des antiquités at Saqqara", by C. M. Firth. Extr. des annales etc. T. XXVII.

reproduction of the wall surface of the subterranean chamber (Fig. 4), and the picture of a door of a Batwa hut from the swamps of Bangweolo (Fig. 5).

To not a few who read these lines it may perhaps appear far-fetched that, in describing the earliest stone architecture of Egypt, I make use of



comparisons with the papyrus huts of the Bangweolo marsh people. I therefore wish to point out that, in Egypt, there formerly existed very extensive marsh regions; indeed, that perhaps the whole of the Delta region and the greater part of the lower Nile valley in pre-historic times consisted of papyrus swamps of the kind nowadays

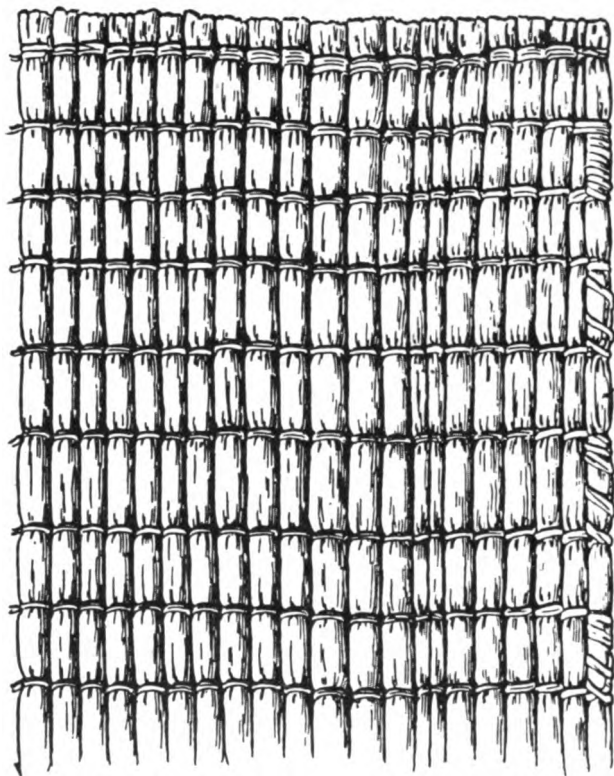


Fig. 5. Detail of the door of a Batwa hut. (From *Eric von Rosen*, "Träsk-folket", Stockholm 1916, Fig. 21).

characteristic, not only of the Bangweolo marsh region, but also of the immense marsh-land of the White Nile, the so-called Sudd area. In the Osiris myth, the swamp regions of Egypt also play a very important part. It is not only that Osiris' body was buried in a swamp, but Horus, the son of Osiris and Isis, is expressly stated to have been born in the swamps of the Nile delta, where, moreover, he spent his childhood. The fact that there existed a kind of swamp-dwellers

in Ancient Egypt is emphasized by Adolf Erman in his work "Aegypten und Aegyptisches Leben im Altertum". He writes: "Uebrigens mögen manche Teile des ägyptischen Volkes, die ungünstige Gegenden bewohnten, noch lange in der Kultur hinter den andern zurückgeblieben sein. So die Sumpfleute (sochete), die uns auf den Bildern des alten Reiches so oft als Hirten oder Vogeljäger dargestellt werden. Ihre Kleidung aus Schilfmatten und die Art, wie sie Haar und Bart tragen, lässt sie barbarisch genug erscheinen. Ja man könnte sogar auf den Gedanken kommen, diese Sumpfbewohner gehörten einer anderen Rasse

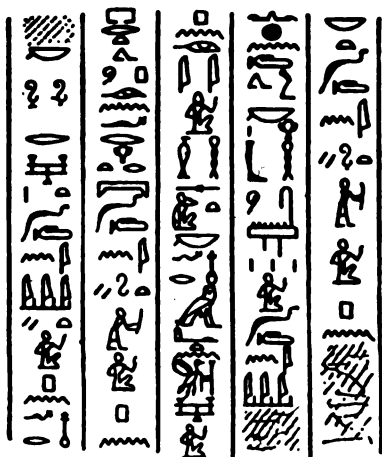


Fig. 6. Hieroglyphic passage (from an early period of the New Kingdom) containing mention of a swamp-dweller ("Sumpfbewohner"). (From *Adolf Erman, Aegypten und aegyptisches Leben im Altertum*. Tübingen 1885).

an als die Bewohner des eigentlichen Aegypten. Denn wie das nordwestliche Delta von Libyern bewohnt war, so haben auch im nordöstlichen einst fremde Elemente gewohnt. Ich meine jenes Volk, dessen merkwürdige Züge wir an den fälschlich sogenannten Hyksos-Sphinxen von Tanis wiederfinden und dessen Nachkommen die Buschmuriten des Mittelalters waren."<sup>1</sup> From the same work (Plate between pp. 456 and 457) I have taken a hieroglyphic text (Fig. 6), giving a dialogue between an Egyptian official and a swamp-dweller.

From sepulchral paintings of historic time it appears that, in Egypt, there existed papyrus swamps of the same character as those of Bangweolo or, to choose an example nearer at hand, the swamps of the White Nile, i. e., the

Sudd area. Bearing in mind the process of dessication at work on the African continent, especially noticeable as regards its northern portion, one cannot exclude the possibility of the entire lowland between the Libyan and Arabian deserts in prehistoric times having been completely overspread by papyrus swamps. It is true that, during some earlier geological period, both these deserts constituted richly wooded areas, to which, inter alia, the so-called fossilized forests bear witness, but, at

<sup>1</sup> *Adolf Erman, Aegypten und aegyptisches Leben im Altertum*. Tübingen 1885. P. 59 and 60.

the beginning of the historic era in Egypt, the desiccation of the regions on either side of the Nile valley had, to judge from all appearances, progressed so far that the two stretches of land in the east and in the west had, practically speaking, even then assumed their present desert character, or consisted of grass steppes which may have served as grazing grounds for the cattle of some pastoral people who immigrated into Egypt. The theory that at the date in question both the present desert regions at all events were practically denuded of forests, seems to be supported by the circumstance that, during the earliest historic era in Egypt, wooden material fit for building purposes must have been an exceedingly rare commodity, seeing that *the earliest* stone buildings that are preserved do not present any constructions or ornaments (except doors and low fences) indicating archetypes in wooden material. In buildings that, with the mastabas, are the earliest existing, namely Zoser's colonnaded forecourt and the underground chambers at the Sakkara step pyramid, there are, on the other hand, found, executed in stone, constructional elements which to the least detail are copied from constructions in the only material that in our days is available for, e. g., the Bangweolo swamp-dwellers, viz., papyrus, a material which probably also formed the most ancient building-material in Lower Egypt.

On account of these characteristics of the earliest Egyptian architecture and also from certain important features embodied in the mythological conceptions of Ancient Egypt, I consider it very probable that *one branch, at any rate, of the prehistoric culture of Egypt germinated among a primitive people of hunters and fishermen who dwelt in the swamps of Lower Egypt, the material culture of whom must in many respects have resembled the culture which, in our days, is characteristic of the swamp-dwellers that I have described from Bangweolo, in the heart of Africa.*

In the underground chamber containing the wattle pattern depicted in Fig. 4, the row of pillar-like ornaments that are found above the doorway is especially remarkable. On my visit to Sakkara, Mr. Firth pointed out to me that these ornaments represented a primordial form of the "ded" amulet, so well known to all Egyptologists and travellers in Egypt, which is also called "djed" or "dad". This amulet or fetish is also known by the name of "Osiris' column", "Osiris' tree", and "Osiris' backbone", and is the symbol of the Osiris of Busiris

in the Nile Delta, who was primarily and principally worshipped as the divinity of harvests and fertility. This sign is also a symbol of "the eternally enduring".

What the *ded* sign was originally intended to signify has long remained an unsolved problem. By some it has been thought to represent a pillar with four rows of palm branches tied on to it, whilst others have tried to explain the four pairs of protuberances in its upper part as vertebral processes, and thus consider it as being a

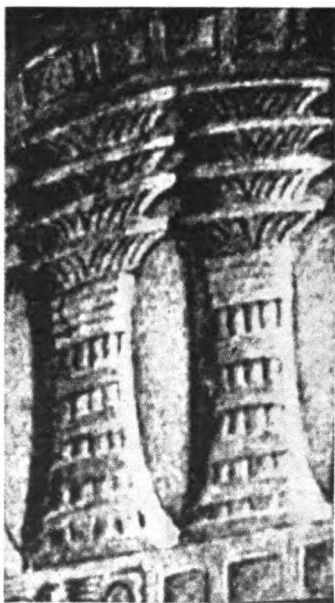


Fig. 7. Two Ded-columns from the circle segment above the doorway in the underground chamber shown in Fig. 4.

conventionalized representation of the backbone of Osiris, which is said to have been buried at Busiris. For the latter interpretation of the *ded* symbol, support is found in Egyptian theological writings of a *late* period.<sup>1</sup> Thus it was with a very lively interest that, in that underground chamber, I listened to Mr. Firth's explanation as to the prototype of the *ded* sign. He pointed out that the *ded* columns which were set above the doorway in the chamber, the appearance of which are more clearly seen in Fig. 7, quite plainly showed that the columns represented were constructed from sheaves of papyrus or reeds. If a pillar in this fashion made from a single sheaf is to be lengthened, the best way of doing so would be by thrusting into it one or more other sheaves, just in the manner seen in the newly discovered *ded* columns from the III:rd Dynasty. In order

to show that reed pillars made from a single sheaf are still in use in regions where reeds and rushes form the only building material, I beg to refer to a drawing of a swamp-dweller's hut from Bangweolo, Fig. 8 in my book, "Träskfolket".

Later forms of the *ded* sign are more severe in style. The later *ded* form seen in Fig. 9 is the reproduction of an original in glazed brick, manufactured more than 2,000 years later than the *ded* figures above

<sup>1</sup>Adolf Erman, *Ägypten und ägyptisches Leben im Altertum*. P. 378.

the doorway in the underground chamber, which date from the III:rd Dynasty. The ded figure here seen in Fig. 10, which originates from a Theban temple, evidently constitutes a link between the earliest ded columns, which are executed in a fully naturalistic manner, and the latest — strictly conventionalized — ded type.

But how has it come to pass that a pillar made of reeds trussed together became one of the most sacred symbols of Egypt? Well, that question has, as far as I know, not yet been answered. Although not

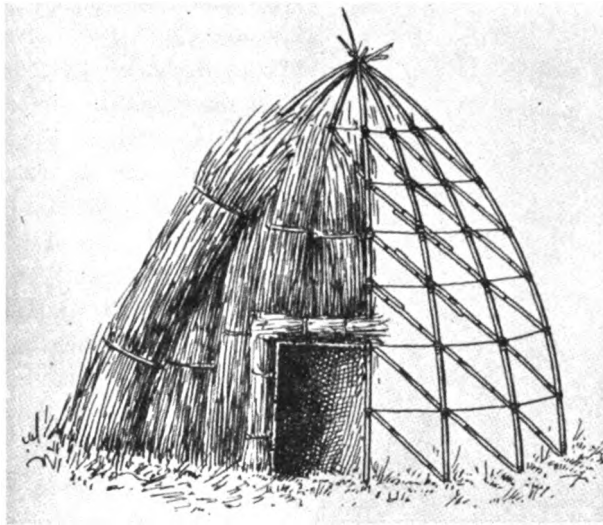


Fig. 8. Partly-built Batwa hut. Swamps of Bangweolo. From a sketch by author. (From "Träskfolket", Fig. 20, p. 111).

an Egyptologist, I shall, however, here venture to give a brief account of the solution of this problem, which I believe I have found.

According to the Osirian legend, the wicked god Seth, whilst hunting boar in the Nile Delta swamps, came upon the corpse of the god Osiris. Seth cut the corpse into fourteen pieces which he threw into the water, so that they were carried away in different directions. Isis, the disconsolate wife of Osiris, then travelled about in a canoe made of papyrus reeds in order to collect the fragments of her husband's body, and then in the swamp found his backbone. The legend relates that she buried this in the swamp, and then *erected a monument over*

*the grave*, in order to mark the spot where she had interred a portion of the body of Osiris.

As has already been mentioned, we know, among other things, from Egyptian tomb paintings that the papyrus and reed swamps of Ancient Egypt were of a kind resembling those that, nowadays, are found far up the White Nile. In such swamp regions there occur no other



Fig. 9. Ded-column of glazed brick. Saite period. Original in the author's collections.

building materials than papyrus and reeds. If then, we suppose that Isis, in accordance with the express statement contained in the legend, erected a mark over the spot where she had buried the backbone, then papyrus or reeds would obviously have been the only material to which she could have had immediate access for the construction of such a mark. In order to raise this papyrus- or reed column above the surrounding vegetation, it would, however, necessarily have to be lengthened by a few sheaves, which undoubtedly could best be done in the manner clearly indicated on the *ded* pillars found in the tomb discovered by Mr. Firth at Sakkara (Figs. 4 and 7).

The symbol of the grave in which Osiris' backbone was deposited eventually became identified with the backbone itself that is to say, the part that gave erectness to the god's body, whereby it also became a symbol of the stabilizing and regenerating forces existing in nature.

If my deductions are correct, it follows that the super-sacred *ded* sign is a representation of the first monument that, according to the legend, was erected in the Nile Delta by Isis, in order to mark the spot where a portion of Osiris' body, viz., his spine, had been interred in the quagmire.

But from another, and still more important, point of view, the reed sheaf may well be conceived as a fitting symbol of Osiris.

Osiris of Busiris, with whom subsequently became fused Anedjit — another god who was worshipped in the Delta land — was, as I have already mentioned, a divinity who presided over vegetable growth and fertility. The fact that popular belief is prone to locate the dwelling place or the power of a spirit of fertility in a sheaf of corn, a tree-branch, a bundle of twigs, a tree, or a leaf-bedecked pole, is well known to us, among other things from northern ancient folk-customs; I am now referring of course to the Yule sheaf, the mimic scourges used in Lent, the barked and partly branch-lopped Yule tree (Yule-pole) and the maypole.

Sheaves of corn, bundles of grass or twigs, trees and garlanded poles have in popular belief — not only in northern Europe but in practically all parts of the world — been looked upon as dwellings, or power-radiating centres, of divinities of fertility, and in that capacity been accorded worship and manifestations of honour, as has been, *inter alia*, emphasized by Frazer in his great work "The golden bough".<sup>1</sup> That the papyrus was chosen when it came to producing a symbol of one who probably



Fig. 10. Ded-column on a fragment of a building, from Thebes. (Original in the author's collections).

was the earliest god of fertility in Egypt can also be explained from the fact that, in prehistoric times, the papyrus plant was just as important to the material culture of the people as, later on, it became to their spiritual, e. g., as a vehicle of the written word. Apart from the ded sign, the papyrus was undoubtedly a plant sacred to Osiris, and one that played an important part in the Cult of the Dead. This is, *inter alia*, apparent from a scene reproduced in the Hunefer document, representing a funeral procession

<sup>1</sup> J. G. Frazer, *The golden bough*. London 1913—1915.

where the mummy of the dead, appearing in the traditional form of Osiris, is surrounded by papyrus plants, papyrus-decked altar sledges

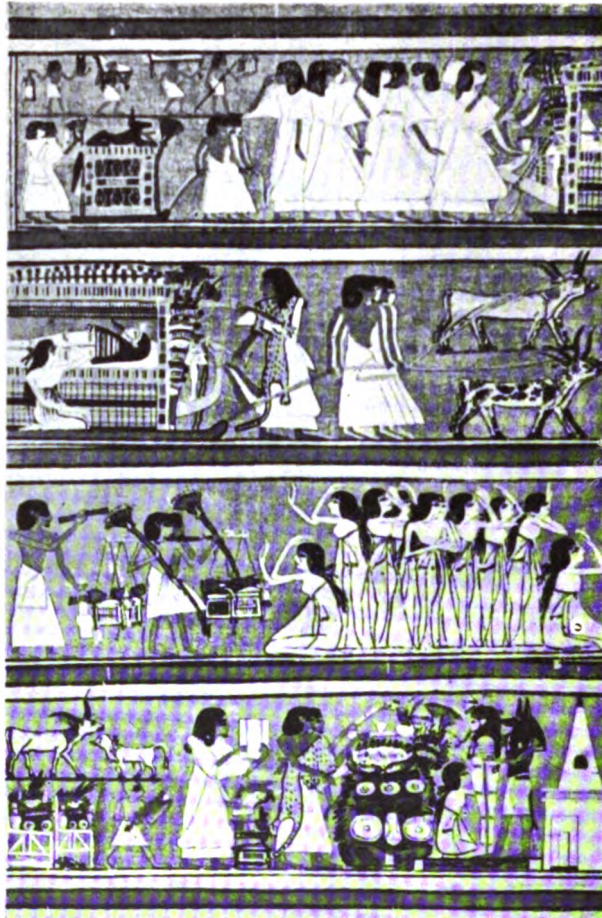


Fig. 11. Funeral procession in which the deceased, arranged in traditional Osiris form, is seen surrounded by papyrus plants, altar sledges ornamented with papyrus, and participants in the procession carrying papyrus.  
(From "Hunefer's papyrus document").

and papyrus-carrying participants in the procession (Fig 11). Even the papyrus mat belonging to the so-called "bed of Osiris" (described by Dr. Pehr Lugn, Keeper of the Egyptiska Museet in Stockholm, in the work "Egypten i fynd och forskning") appears to me as possibly con-



stituting an indication of the papyrus being a plant sacred to Osiris.<sup>1</sup> The rites observed in the raising of the ded-column in ancient Egypt point in many respects to the existence of a certain spiritual kinship between it and the may- and Yule-poles of the North. In connection



Fig. 12. The Ded festival held in celebration of Amenhotep III's 30:th year, depicted in a grave at Thebes. (From *Oscar Almgren, Hällristningar och Kultbruk*", Fig. 76).

with his researches into the origin of the ritual acts that, presumably, are represented in many of the rock-carvings of our Bronze Age, Professor Oscar Almgren has also given a description of the raising of the Ded-column in Egypt. According to his opinion, the Ded-column probably consisted of a tree-stem from which the branches had been lopped off.<sup>2</sup> It seems, however, more probable that it consisted of

<sup>1</sup> *Pehr Lugn, Egypten i fynd och forskning*. Stockholm 1923.

<sup>2</sup> *Oscar Almgren, Hällristningar och kultbruk*. Kungl. vitterhets-, historie- och antikvitets akademiens handlingar. Vol. 35. Stockholm 1926—1927. P. 113.

a conventionalized representation, carved in wood, of the first grave monument of Osiris; that is to say, *the reed pillar, lengthened by inserted sheaves*, which Mr. Firth discovered naturalistically reproduced in the underground chamber at Sakkara. The picture of the raising of the Ded-column at the jubilee celebration of the 30:th year of king

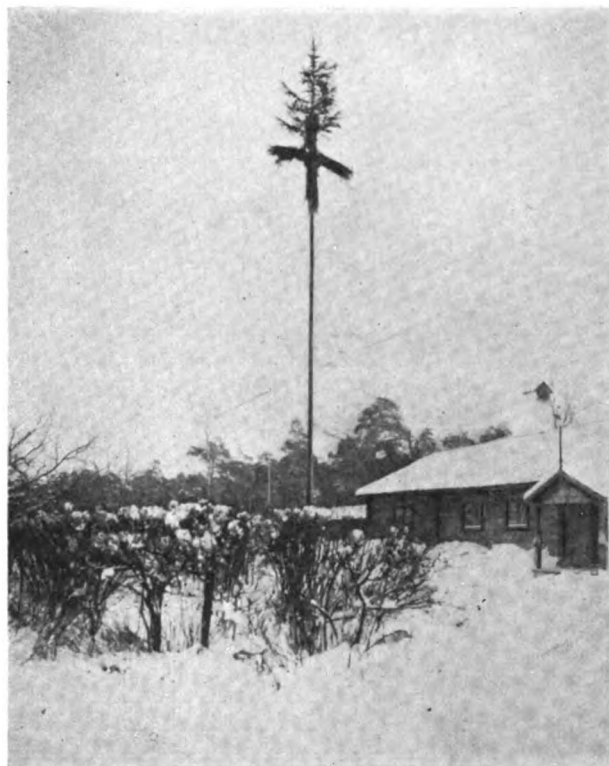


Fig. 13. Yule pole topped with four corn sheaves and a spruce branch. Bollnäs, Hälsingland, Sweden. (From the archives of the Nordiska Museet, Stockholm).

Amenhotep's reign (Fig. 12), which is published in Prof. Almgren's interesting work, "*Hällristningar och kultbruk*", also appears to me to afford confirmation of my theory. In my opinion, Prof. Almgren, in his work just referred to, has in a highly convincing degree demonstrated that, during the Bronze Age, there existed in Sweden cult-rites and symbols that largely corresponded with those that obtained

in Ancient Egypt. Frazer, too, had observed the resemblance that is found between certain Egyptian and Northern ritual customs; among other things he notices how the custom formerly practiced in the North, of choosing, in connection with the raising of the maypole, a may king

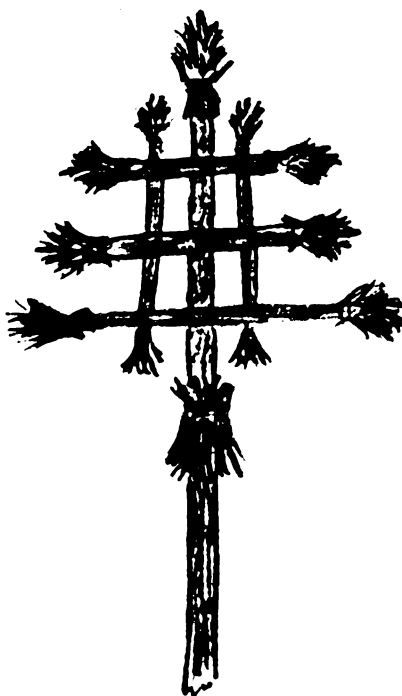


Fig. 14. Yule pole with cross-pieces having spruce branches attached. Mora, Dalecarlia, Sweden. (Sketched from a drawing in the archives of the Nordiska Museet, Stockholm).

and a may queen, recalls the parts played by the pharao and his consort at the raising of the Ded-column in Egypt.<sup>1</sup>

On the 30:th day of the month of Koiak, i. e., shortly before the winter,<sup>2</sup> the festival of Osiris was brought to a close by the raising

<sup>1</sup> *J. G. Frazer*, *The golden bough*. Part IV, vol. II Adonis Attis Osiris. London 1914. P. 109.

<sup>2</sup> *J. G. Frazer*, *The golden bough*. Part IV, vol. II Adonis Attis Osiris. London 1914. P. 94.

of the Ded-column. When this was to be set up, it was the custom for the pharao and those nearest to him to haul the ropes that were attached to the pillar. This can be seen from the picture reproduced in Fig. 12, which originates from a Theban tomb. According to Adolf Erman, the raising of the pillar was intended to symbolize the reawakening to life of Osiris, the god of fertility.<sup>1</sup>

The raising, e. g., in the Swedish provinces of Dalecarlia and Helsingland, of the Yule poles (Figs 13, 14) which in the old days were so common, no doubt also originally had for its object the symbolizing of the reawakening of the life-forces of nature, and thus constitutes a Northern analogy to the raising of the Ded-column on the banks of the Nile. That these Yule poles are related to cult objects of a similar character from Middle and Southern Europe, even as far down as Greece, has lately been pointed out by Miss Gerda Boethius, Phil. dr., in an article called "Helgdagsfirning i Morabygden". In her interesting article, Dr. Boethius writes, *inter alia*: "When in the winter time one takes a walk among the villages, one sees at most of the homesteads barked spruce poles with a green tuft left at the top, and a corn sheaf tied on. These poles are ancient symbols of the same character as the maypole, and have in this way been raised at mid-winter time all over the Western World, from Greece up to our own country".<sup>2</sup> Remembering the waves of civilization that, originating from Egypt, crossed the Mediterranean and impinged upon the Grecian shores, we may well consider it possible that the oldest, most widespread, and perhaps most highly venerated form of religion that existed in Egypt, viz., the cult of Osiris, formed the origin of the Greek mysteries of a very similar kind. *If this theory be correct, there is nothing unreasonable in supposing that the quaint Yule poles, decorated with corn sheaves or spruce branches, seen in the village of Mora in the year 1929, can trace their origin, via the ritual poles of Middle Europe and Greece, back to the Ded-column of Osiris.*

<sup>1</sup> *Adolf Erman, Aegypten und aegyptisches Leben im Altertum. Tübingen 1885. P. 377 and 378.*

<sup>2</sup> *Gerda Boëthius, Helgdagsfirning i Morabygden. Mora Kyrkotidning. Mars 1929. P. 2.*



## RIKSMUSEETS ETNOGRAFISKA AVDELNING

### SMÄRRE MEDDELANDEN

N:r 1.	K. G. Lindblom.	Einige Details in der Ornamentik der Buschneger Surinams. Stockholm 1926	Price Kr.
N:r 2.	--	Die Schleuder in Afrika und anderwärts. Stockholm 1927 .....	» » 2
N:r 3.	—	The Use of Stilts, especially in Africa and America. Stockholm 1927 .....	» » 2
N:r 4.	—	Fighting-Bracelets and kindred Weapons in Africa. Stockholm 1927.....	» » 2
N:r 5.	—	The spiked Wheel-trap and its Distribution. Stockholm 1928.....	» » 2
N:r 6.	—	Further Notes on the Use of Stilts. Stockholm 1928.....	» » 1:
N:r 7.	—	The Use of the Hammock in Africa. Stockholm 1928.....	» » 2: